

# The Intercollegiate Socialist



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December-January, 1913-14

Ten Cents

# The Intercollegiate Socialist

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Published bi-monthly, except June, July, August and September

Entered as second class matter June 20, 1913, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

**THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

105 W. 40th Street, New York City.

10c. a copy

Subscription, 25c. a year

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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are \$2, \$5 (contributing membership), \$25 or more (sustaining membership.) The dues of student members-at-large are \$1 a year. Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 25c. a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive The Intercollegiate Socialist. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for The Intercollegiate Socialist, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Bi-monthly is 25c. a year, 10c. a copy, 15 copies for \$1.

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# THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

VOL. II.

DECEMBER-JANUARY, 1913-14

No. 2

## Our Magazine

### Its Purpose

The purpose of this magazine is the same as that of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

We aim to present the truth, the whole truth, about Socialism, to throw the greatest possible light on its real character. We believe that no complete view of its significance can be obtained unless we give ear, not only to those inside the movement, but also to earnest and intelligent critics from without. We therefore welcome serious contributions both from the advocates and the opponents of Socialism.

In accordance with this desire, during many months past, we have been soliciting articles from non-Socialists. In the present issue, it was our hope to present to our readers a symposium on "Social Reform vs. Socialism," and to have two social reformers point out how present social ills might be cured under the capitalist system. We are endeavoring, in subsequent issues, to induce a number of American scholars to indicate why, in their opinion, Socialism would fail.

Thus far, however, we are compelled to report scant success in obtaining non-Socialist contributions. Professor William H. Taft, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Hadley of Yale, President Schurman of Cornell, Mr. Paul Kellogg and Professors Irving Fisher, V. Simkhovitch, Edward T. Devine, T. N. Carver, O. D. Skelton, Herbert Mills, Frederick Davenport and others whom we have approached have declined our invitation, on account of the multiplicity of other duties.

We are, of course, continuing our quest for such articles and will be grate-

ful to any of our readers who may call to our attention opponents of Socialism of learning and ability as writers who may be willing to contribute. We request especially that students in colleges send us the names of such members of their faculties.

The Intercollegiate Socialist has splendid future possibilities. Already we have received promises of contributions for the coming issues from Karl Kautsky, the scholar of German Socialism, Keir Hardie, M. P., one of the leaders of the British Independent Labor Party, Jean Longuet, the prominent French Socialist, Morris Hillquit, Will Irwin, Inez Haynes Gilmore, W. J. Ghent, A. M. Simons, C. Hanford Henderson, Dr. P. A. Levine, Florence Kelley, and others. In our next number we are aiming to conduct a symposium on "What Party Should a Socialist Support?"

Our department of book reviews promises to be one of the most interesting of its kind in the entire magazine field in this country.

With your co-operation, we confidently expect for this magazine a growth so swift in the next few years that it may soon vitally affect the intellectual life of the nation. You can assist us now at the start by obtaining subscriptions. Today we received ten subscriptions from Bishop Spalding of Utah, and also an order for fifty copies of the current issue from a teacher in a New York high school, for distribution among the teaching profession. Will not you, too, give us your aid? Order bundles of magazines to sell at various meetings of the Society or other groups, as well as to

distribute. You can also help us by patronizing our advertisers and by letting them know why you purchase from them. Let us hear from you, will you not?

## **I. S. S.**

### **Convention**

All who are within hailing distance of New York are urged to attend the Fifth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, to be held in New York City, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, December 29th, 30th and 31st. The biggest event of the Convention, from the standpoint of the general public, will be the Dinner of Tuesday evening, December 30th, to be held in Murray Hill Lyceum, 160 East 34th Street. "Suffrage and Socialism" will be discussed from many angles by a remarkable group of speakers. Harriot Stanton Blatch, President of the Woman's Political Union, will deal primarily with woman suffrage. Morris Hillquit will tell of the Socialists' battle for manhood suffrage in Europe. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Editor of "The Crisis," will deal with the negro problem in this country. Hon. George Lansbury, the brilliant ex-member of the British Parliament, will discuss woman suffrage abroad. Max Eastman, Editor of "The Masses," will act as chairman. Tickets are \$1 a piece. The Dinner promises to be one of the most inspiring of its kind yet held.

The Convention proper will be called to order on Monday afternoon, December 29th, at 2.30, at Miss Stokes' Studio, 90 Grove Street. This session will be devoted to Chapter reports and problems. On Monday evening, the New York Alumni Chapter will tender a reception to the visiting delegates at the Finch School, 61 East 77th Street. A number of five-minute talks will be given by members of the Executive Committee. The Tuesday morning session at

Miss Stokes' Studio will continue the discussion on Chapter problems. On Tuesday afternoon, Jessie Wallace Hughan, William English Walling and Robert W. Bruere will conduct a Question Box on Socialism at the Rand School of Social Sciences, 140 E. 19th Street. The final session, Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock, at Miss Stokes' Studio, will be devoted to Alumni Chapter problems. Further particulars will be mailed on application.

### **An International Conference**

The proposal has been made, and has met with considerable favor, that collegians in Europe and America hold an international conference next summer in Vienna, about the time of the International Socialist Conference in that city.

There will probably be a number of American students in Vienna at that time. All who are anticipating going abroad next year are asked to correspond with the editor.

### **I. S. S. Edition N. Y. Call**

On Sunday, December 28th, 1913, the New York Call has kindly consented to devote its magazine section to the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Many well-known writers, including Morris Hillquit, Wm. English Walling, Ernest Poole, Ellen Hayes, C. Hanford Henderson, Walter Lippmann, Anita C. Black, Caro Lloyd and Mary W. Ovington have thus far promised articles. The issue should be a splendid one for distribution. Single copies will be mailed to any address for 5 cents, bundles of 100, for \$3.50. They can be ordered from the N. Y. Call, 444 Pearl Street, directly, or from the I. S. S. Office. Contributions for this issue should be sent to Mrs. Clara G. Stillman, 36 E. 57th Street, as soon as possible.



## Will Socialism Abolish Private Property?

By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB

Perhaps the commonest misconceptions of Socialism hang around the assertion that it means the "Abolition of Private Property."

It seems a quibble to the ordinary man to ask him what is this private property of which he fears the abolition. It is clearly not the things themselves—the land, the buildings, the railways, the furniture, his fountain pen! Not even the most determined opponent of Socialism really believes that the Socialists propose or desire to destroy any of these things, or to diminish the amount of them in this or any other country. Nor can it be suggested that Socialists have any wish to see these serviceable or pleasant things disused. In the Socialist State the land will be cultivated, trains will continue to run on the railways, we shall sit on chairs and use fountain pens exactly as we do at present.

What, then, do we mean when we talk of the ownership of a piece of land, a bond of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, a thousand dollars a year in United States Government bonds, a ticket for a seat at a theatre, a chair or a suit of clothes? Is it not clear that we mean by property not the material objects themselves, but our "rights" over them: such powers in relation to them as the law of land will help us to enforce or protect? Property is jurisdiction over things. Private property is jurisdiction over things by private persons.

This private jurisdiction over things, which the law recognizes and maintains as private property, is not and never has been quite absolute. There is always the primary jurisdiction of the State, as supreme authority, to take from the owner such toll as it requires: a right now clearly everywhere vested in a democratic legislature. But beyond this

obligation to pay taxes the private property owner is, and always has been, more or less limited or restricted by law—the well-known "police power"—in the use that he may make of his property. I find that I have more complete jurisdiction over my fountain pen than the law allows me to have over my garden, more over my garden than over my dwelling-house, more over my house than over my mill, and more over my mill than over the stream which supplies its water power, whilst the bridge over the stream and the road to the bridge are no more and no less under my jurisdiction than they are under the jurisdiction of all the other persons who use them.

Now, Socialists, like other political parties, have their own ideas as to the expediency of these varying degrees of private jurisdiction in respect of different kinds of things. In the course of history the law has frequently modified the jurisdiction, now in this direction, now in that. At the present day it is the Socialist view which is more and more being adopted by the legislatures of the world, a fact which makes it interesting to examine in detail what that view is. Private property, as the term is commonly used, comprises, so the Socialist thinks, three distinct and very different kinds of "ownership" or jurisdiction. There is first the ownership of what we may term the "Paraphernalia" of the individual—his clothes, his furniture, his books, his toys, the settled occupancy of his house and garden and all their appurtenances, the consumable goods or transient services for which he exchanges the tokens that he calls his income; and, if we are taking the family as the unit, the corresponding items in respect of all its members. In a second category comes the fund for contingencies, the



reserve against emergencies, the provision for the future, which, in the form of deliberate postponement of present enjoyment of income for the sake of subsequent availability, distinguishes the civilized man from the savage. This stored-up or "saved" reserve we may designate the "hoard." Finally there is a third category—namely, property, whether movable or immovable, which is used or intended to be used, by means of the labor of persons other than the owner, with the object of producing a revenue for the owner, irrespective of his own exertions, though not necessarily without his co-operation. We may conveniently call this kind of property "exploitation capital."

Socialists regard these three categories of private property with different eyes. The first, that of "Paraphernalia," they entirely approve of. It is an indispensable element to man's freedom, a desirable form of expression of his personality, a necessary condition of home life and comfort. The trouble is that, under present conditions, the majority of the community have no paraphernalia worth speaking about; with regard to half the families in the United States, indeed, the whole of their several belongings would not fill a cart. Far from contemplating any abolition of this private property, or any diminution of the individual's paraphernalia, Socialists look for its enormous extension. It is, indeed, difficult to measure the increase in this essential condition of personal freedom that would follow a general rise in the real incomes, and a reduction of the hours of labor, of the whole working population. The addition of a second pair of boots to the millions of persons in the United States, young and old, who have at present only a single pair in the world would have in itself quite striking results. Such a rise in the standard of housing as would give each family in New York or Chicago the settled occupancy of merely "three rooms and a kitchen" would probably

double the total amount of the existing private property in homes.

Nor have Socialists any quarrel with the second kind of private property—the "hoard" or reserve for the future. Here, again, the trouble is not the existence of this private property, but the fact that the vast majority of the community are practically without it; and that so scandalously do our Governments neglect their duty in this respect that, even where it exists, it is (as regards the wage-earning class) very imperfectly secured against plunder or depreciation. Far from contemplating any abolition of this institution of the Hoard, it will certainly be the duty of the first Socialist Government to take steps to increase it. We want, above all, to render it as far as possible universal. And instead of this abandonment to all the depredations of the company promoters and financial sharks of all kinds by which, as by the "depreciation" of even "gilt-edged" securities, a quite enormous proportion of the people's savings are at present lost—we may contemplate their concentration in the future in a greatly developed Government Savings Bank and Annuity and Life Insurance Department, accessible to every home, providing absolute security, guaranteeing not only the punctual payment of interest at one's own door, at whatever rate may be deemed advisable, but also the repayment at any time of the full capital without any danger of its depreciation. It may be assumed that, as in the present savings banks and co-operative societies, no interest would be payable on any amount that transcended a reasonable Hoard; and there would, of course, be inheritance taxes adequate to prevent any person from seeking to ruin the character of another by attempting posthumously to enrich him without work!

It is only when we come to the third kind of property—Exploitation Capital—that the Socialist finds any objection to its existence in private ownership. It is interesting to notice that it is just with regard to this kind of ownership



that there is least precedent in history. Throughout the Middle Ages of Europe, as it is hardly necessary to observe, every person lived, as regards the instruments of production, in a network of communal regulations, customary obligations and compulsory labor, whether in manor or gild, which made his jurisdiction over his own strips of land, his own ox or his own plough, his own loom or anvil or brazier, the labor force of his own son or daughter or of his apprentices, even his own labor and his own time, much more akin to a system of co-operation than to anything that we should now call individual ownership. No mediaeval lawyer or guildsman would even have understood the idea that there could be any private property in these things, in the sense of being legally free to do what one liked with one's own.

It was, in fact, only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that this unlimited conception of property in land and capital was formulated, and then it was usually thought of as applying only to trading stock, or to machinery and the other novel forms which capital was taking in the Industrial Revolution. So appalling was the result on the mass of the community of this new freedom in the use of Exploitation Capital—producing, as it did, the “white slavery” of Lancashire—that even the English Parliament of property owners was constrained to interfere, and by the long succession of Factory Acts, Mines Acts, Workshop Acts, Railways Regulation Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Truck Acts, and ever so many more—called by Sir James Graham, significantly enough, “Jack Cade legislation”—to bring back once more the idea of property as being not absolute ownership, but only a jurisdiction which could be restricted here and limited there, just as Parliament (without compensation, be it noted) might choose. We are now living, as regards “private property in the instruments of production,” at any rate in the most efficiently organized in-

dustries in the most advanced industrial communities under what has been aptly called a “Triple Control.” The capitalist, who still imagines that he can “do what he likes with his own,” has to realize, on reflection, that he shares the jurisdiction with the Government on the one hand, with its factory and sanitary inspectors; and with the trade union on the other, with its enforcement of standard conditions of employment. In the sweated industries of the United Kingdom, as in far too many of the industries of the United States this triple control is still in a rudimentary form, and the capitalist is permitted to degrade the conditions of employment in such a way as to become himself parasitic on the health of the nation. But decade after decade shows an advance, both in trade union resistance and Governmental intervention, in the protection of the standard of life of the wage-earner. The English Trade Boards Act of 1909 is only one of the latest instances of this transference of jurisdiction over the instruments of production from private capitalists to statutory committees of representatives of employers and employed, presided over by a representative of the public.

It may not be too fanciful to suggest that what history shows us, as regards property in exploitation capital, is a succession of jurisdictions. The jurisdiction of the manor and the gild gradually gave place to the growing jurisdiction of the King and his law courts and taxing officers on the one hand, and to the jurisdiction of the county justices and the municipal corporations on the other. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there grew up a distinctly capitalist jurisdiction, exercised by the new freedom of landlord and plutocrat. What is now proceeding—and what, in fact, Socialism means—is merely the steady and gradual encroachment of yet another jurisdiction, that of the people at large, exercised through the Municipality and the Legislature, on the one hand, and through the trade union and



the Co-operative Movement on the other. The economic justification for this transference of jurisdiction (or transformation of property) is the "Law of Rent." The land and capital of a community are—just as much as the air and water of a community—the means by which it lives; and the most orthodox economists to-day warn us that to permit one set of men to "own" these indispensable means of existence is inevitably to enable this "propertied class" to keep the rest of the community in economic subjection, in such a way as to compel them to cede an enormous part of the product as the tribute which we call rent, interest, dividends, or what not. Socialists object to this subjection. They believe that the democratically organized community will, with the growth of public spirit and the advance of political science, find it increasingly possible to transfer the jurisdiction over all forms of exploitation capital from private persons to representatives of the community. To the extent that this transfer takes place, Socialism certainly does contemplate the "abolition of private property" in this or that form of exploitation capital, just as we have, in the United States, already successively "abolished" private property in human beings and in the means of transmission of letters and, in most countries of the world, also in elementary schools, in waterworks, in docks and harbors, in urban tramways, in railways and telegraphs and telephones, in gas and electric lighting works, and in other forms of capital that have been "collectivized."

Will the property owner get compensation? On this point curiously enough, there is no difference, *in principle* between Socialists and anti-Socialists, however much they may differ in the application of the principle. We all agree that any failure to fulfill the "established expectations" of any individual or class of individuals is in itself a pain and an evil to be avoided where possible, and where inevitable to be as far as practicable mitigated. This fact has unfor-

tunately not restrained, and does not even now restrain, the propertied class from quite seriously upsetting the "established expectations" of the manual worker whenever profitable use can be made of a new machine or a new process whereby he is ousted from employment. In the application of this wholesome principle of reverence for established expectations, Socialists will undoubtedly differ from Conservatives. They will pay as much respect to the established expectations of the man whose livelihood is his occupation as to him whose food and raiment are paid for out of rents and dividends. But in many such cases there is already agreement between all political parties. No Finance Minister has suggested that we should pay compensation when the "transformation of property" is effected by public health and factory legislation, or by changes in taxation. When, however, we propose to bring to an end (in Scotland) the grant of licenses to sell alcoholic liquors, we allow what is called a "time limit," a period during which the licensee can prepare for the change. When (in England) we want to bring his license suddenly to an end we pay him its value in cash, but we straightway levy this "compensation" on those who remain in the business! If we want to take over the whole of any particular kind of property (such as telephone plant)—still more, if we merely expropriate a single property owner—we give full and sometimes exorbitant compensation, virtually in Government bonds bearing interest. We then levy, by income tax and inheritance tax on all the propertied class, enough revenue to pay the interest on the Government's debt to particular property owners, much as if they were dispossessed licensed victuallers. In one or other of these ways, it may safely be predicted, full consideration will be given to the "established expectations" of every expropriated property owner, and even to those of his children then in being. But against the permanent in-



terests of the community the unborn have no rights.

With the growth of morality, public and private, it will become increasingly clear that the worst and most certainly demoralizing provision that a father can make for his children is to rear them in the expectation that they will be able to live on the labor of their fellow-men without rendering any equivalent service to the community. For any healthy

adult to pass his days in idleness or amusement on the tribute that he can levy on his fellow-citizens, the new statesman will have nothing but condemnation, and he will certainly seek, by taking thought and by using all the devices that political science can suggest, to render such anti-social conduct as regards any future generations of citizens, impracticable.

## The Scientific Outlook

By CHARLES ZUEBLIN

A college education that does not equip the student with a scientific mind and a *Weltanschauung* is not worth the sheepskin that covers too many unbred wolfings. Mental discipline is of course not desired for the sole purpose of earning a Phi Beta Kappa key. If it does not permanently train the faculties so that they may work independently and creatively it is a delusion. So with the conventional culture. If it only furnishes a monetary dilettante interest one might better be stroke on the second crew or captain of the scrub team. A philosophy of the world so comprehensive as to justify the fine-sounding German idiom — *Weltanschauung* — is the prerogative of a student finishing his sweet sixteenth year of academic training.

For this larger outlook on life the student must get from the laboratories the habit of seeing things accurately, from field work in the sciences or arts the habit of discerning nuances, from literature and history a background of world experience to throw into wholesome relief the foreground of his personal experiences. He is entitled to make his choices of the overwhelming material of modern culture, but if he is to

be a full sized modern man or woman he will surely go forth from the college or university with certain essentials of twentieth century culture. Perhaps the chief of these are evolution, the higher criticism and Socialism. One cannot adjust oneself to the needs of material or spiritual life to-day until he has accepted or rejected the theses of biological evolution. Many a business and professional man and successful society woman may be oblivious to the laws of evolution but he is, and generally feels himself, a misfit in his generation. The higher criticism is of course not applied only to Hebrew and Christian literature. It is the means of getting at the pith of all literature, of learning its animus, of discerning the revelation conveyed by secular and sacred literature alike. Higher criticism is reading between the lines and one cannot understand print, whether Scriptures, legal briefs, love letters or the yellow newspaper, without a skilful application of such higher criticism.

The claims of Socialism are no whit inferior to those of these seemingly more cultural themes. One might contend that a careful study of economics, politics and sociology would permit one

to make his own subsequent judgment on any scheme for the transformation of society. Would one say that painstaking observation of reactions in test tubes makes one a qualified evolutionist or a study of syntax gives appreciation of the content of literature? A devoted student of chemistry or Goethe would certainly have an equipment that would facilitate the approach to astronomy or Walt Whitman. But a man might be able to recite Werther backwards without understanding a poet whose theology took in God and pokeweed.

Socialism is not Marxian economics. It is too often limited by its origin even in the minds of Socialists. It is a world movement and a modern philosophy. There are more Confucians than Socialists, but that does not make Confucianism imperative. Socialism is the most threatening or the most promising force on the social horizon. It is as necessary for the coming citizen to understand Socialism as it is for a doctor to understand the germ theory. As well leave Christianity out of a study of comparative religion as omit Socialism from a course on economics.

The organization of labor was included in the study of industry not so long ago.

Now the professor of economics who gives his classes only the theory of production, distribution and consumption is in the category with the astrologers. Modern cosmogony takes account of the struggle of the workers to organize themselves, recognizing that capitalism is a recent and perhaps ephemeral thing. Since the modern industrial system has so recently arrived it is interesting to speculate on where it is going. Since it is worldwide, and we are all subject to it, we must be inquisitive as to what the millions of workers are going to do about it when they discover it.

Whether as an economic system, a form of political organization or a social dream the most discussed subject in the world (with the possible exception of sex) cannot be given to college students as an appendix to Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. Possibly some students may care no more about Socialism than they do about the structure of Mother Earth or the refinements of their vernacular, but they should certainly have the privilege of choosing. A course in Socialism—historical or theoretical—will therefore not long be lacking where the standard of the college is high enough to justify Carnegie pensions.

Continued from page 4

## Debates

Study Chapters are urged, wherever possible, to arrange debates on Socialism between Socialists and non-Socialists of standing. Such debates, if rightly conducted, attract wide-spread attention, and bring clearly before those present the relative merits of the case for and against Socialism. The Yale Society for the Study of Socialism last year arranged a discussion between Dean Brown of its Divinity School and George Willis Cooke on the ethical aspects of Socialism. This fall a debate on the economic aspects of Socialism was held with Prof. Henry C. Emery, for-

merly head of the Tariff Commission, and Wm. English Walling as speakers. The big university halls were crowded to capacity in each instance, and the work of the Chapter obtained a great impetus.

Chapters are also urged, wherever possible, to hold regular study meetings, actively participated in by the members. The I. S. S. study courses or some textbook, such as Miss Hughan's "Facts of Socialism," especially adapted to use by the Chapters, or the books of Spargo, Hillquit, Walling, Kautsky, and others may be suggested. A most successful method is that adopted by the New York Alumni Chapter. Both general and special topics for discussion are given at each meeting of this organization.



# The New Fabianism

By WM. ENGLISH WALLING

Next year will be a quarter of a century since the publication of the Fabian essay, and thirty years since the foundation of the Fabian Society. During this period, especially in the past ten years, the opponents of this form of Socialism have frequently felt that Fabianism was dying out. The first secessions from the Society (including that of the present writer) took place in 1907, when the Fabian Executive cordially approved the first railway settlement, which was later condemned even by the most conservative Laborites. Again, a few years ago, at the time when H. G. Wells made his attack on the Fabian bureaucratic spirit, it seemed that the Society was passing into a decline.

But since the Lloyd George Budget of 1910, there has been a revival of that State Capitalism and State Socialism for which the Fabians stand. And the foundation last April of *The New Statesman* by Webb, Shaw and others, undoubtedly marks a new birth of the Fabian movement. *The New Statesman* maintains the old Fabianism intact and adds little that is really new, but it shows the maturity of thirty years of experience. Probably it is superior to any other economic and political weekly in any language.

The first twenty-two numbers of *The New Statesman* contain an extremely important series of articles by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, entitled "What is Socialism?"—which will soon appear in book form. A better title might have been "The New Fabianism." It is certain that no such able or sincere presentation of this variety of Socialism has yet appeared.

I shall not attempt to sum up in this brief space the policy of *The New Statesman*, but shall merely state that

it entirely coincides with that of the prospectus of the paper and of the Webb articles. One of the first statements of the prospectus is that *The New Statesman* "intends to avoid the error of supposing that those for whom it speaks have either a culture or a morality differing from that of the other members of the community." Thus at the very outset the new Fabianism leaves half of Socialism to one side and confines its Socialism to the political and economic movement. Though it concerns itself very largely with cultural matters, it does so from an avowedly non-Socialist standpoint.

Next *The New Statesman* renounces the class struggle. Progress, it claims, will not be brought about by "the warring of social classes." Such wars may well be "incidental" to social advance, but progress will be mainly due to "the union of all the forces of sincerity and public spirit."

These Socialist reformers stand for order and organization in general, rather than for any particular kind of order. They announce themselves as collectivists, but by collectivism they mean only a system that will provide a complete policy of social organization and government. "Social legislation has suffered in point of quality and effectiveness from a lack of logical and coherent criticism. It has neither been inspired by any definite conception of future social organization nor has it been measured by any standard of social principle." The idea here is that there is only one form of efficiency and one form of order, which supposition, if granted, certainly precludes all class struggles—and even all serious differences of opinion.

And, finally, the prospectus assails, not class rule, but "individualism," while the

Webbs, in their articles, attack not class ownership, but private ownership.

Astonishing as it may seem, the Socialist State pictured by the Webbs presupposes (1) the dominance of the "intellectual" class and the "aristocracy of labor," and (2) the permanent subjection of the unskilled workers. They appeal especially to the new middle class, or "minor professionals," which constitutes, in Great Britain, 20% of all persons having an income less than \$800 a year. The Webbs, it is well known, represent also the conservative Trade Unionists, who, no doubt, compose another 20% of all persons of this income level (which the Webbs say compose 8/9ths of the total population). It is these two classes, minor professionals and aristocracy of labor, that are coming to hold the balance of economic and political power, and are expected by the Webbs to inaugurate in Great Britain, not merely State Capitalism (in which the small capitalists dominate), but also State Socialism (where the small capitalists are subordinated to these two classes).

The "intellectual" Socialists, we find, judging by the Webbs, do not want to make any fundamental democratic change either in the class distribution of education or in the character of the present culture which is their capital. Culturally the Webbs' attack is against the effect of "plutocracy" on science, art, and religion and not against the effect of class-rule—which will continue when "plutocracy" is dead and when the more successful "intellectuals" and the aristocracy of labor will have become the ruling class.

We find that the Webbs make a curious distinction between plutocrats and those "artists, scientists, authors, poets, musical composers," etc., who have "earned" incomes up to \$25,000 a year! The fact that educational privilege and advantages due to the possession of a small private capital have multiplied such incomes many times, over what they otherwise would have been, does not

dampen the Webbs' friendly feeling for his wealthy associates. He confesses that these have come from homes "other than the manual worker's," but seems to attach no significance to this fact.

What the intellectuals look forward to is really a beneficent rule of—the intellectuals. "Socialism is the application of science to social organizations," we are told by the Webbs. If we ask what science is meant we are answered, "science untrammelled by plutocracy," that is science of the present intellectual class. The social hierarchy will be sufficiently democratic to satisfy them when the plutocrats are removed and the intellectuals and allied classes are left on top. There is to be no revolution and no class struggle to disturb the \$25,000 incomes. All that is needed is to develop "the motive of social obligation and the service of Humanity."

The intellectuals now on top are superior and should stay there, but they must not be influenced by "the motive of pecuniary gain" any more. They are evidently superior because there is already "something like a common level of wages and salaries, in each country, at each particular period for workers of equivalent capacity"—and "all the abler, all the more cunning, all the more gifted, all the more powerful of those who are propertyless" are already taken into the service of the capitalists. The Webbs seem to have forgotten this when they wrote a few weeks later of the immense gain to society when all talent, including that coming from homes "other than the manual worker's," would be developed. The late Professor Lester F. Ward calculated that this gain would be 100%, since we had hitherto given intellectual opportunity to only one per cent.

In the intellectuals' Utopia now approaching, these high salaries will continue, except that the rich will not be there to pay high prices, fees, etc. But to compensate for this loss, the intellectuals will find in public bodies or the general educated public, purchasers much more to their taste. The Webbs express



the hope that the intellectual, writer, artist, etc., will only ask what he needs to develop maximum efficiency. But they admit that the intellectual of their "Socialist" society may ask more and get it, and they say not a word about the possibility of lowering such excessive pay by increasing the competition for these higher paid places—say 100 times, as Ward suggests is possible. Such a leveling of educational opportunity would mean a revolution indeed among the intellectuals and their culture, and this is, no doubt, why the intellectuals oppose revolution.

It is this class ideal of the intellectuals that the Webbs apply to education, as to all other questions, and not the Socialist ideal, of which he is perfectly conscious however, since he himself describes it accurately as "equality for all children whatever their parentage—for each child, irrespective of wealth or position, the fullest practicable opportunity for the development of its character and its talents." It is evidently not on the basis of this last named ideal that they make their extremely low calculation of the sums needed for public education in Great Britain, but on their feeling that the amount and character of the intellectual ability now supplied is, after all, fairly satisfactory. They demand at the outside only two or three times the sum now expended, not by the government, but by *all classes*, which would by no means be sufficient to make a "secondary education genuinely available to the poor," as the Fabians themselves demand. This last mentioned standard would doubtless require, in America, four or five times the present expenditure on *public schools* alone, as I have shown elsewhere. People as familiar with statistics as the Webbs must know just what their low estimate for Great Britain would mean. It would mean to bring the efficiency of the peoples' children to the maximum *as wage earners* and to furnish such additional professional talents as are now inadequately supplied from the middle and upper classes, but it would not

create "too much" competition for the intellectuals and their children, nor "overcrowd" the professions to a degree that would reduce a very large proportion of the latter to the ranks.

Most astounding, however, and most ominous, is the Webbs' consignment of the unskilled workers of the British Empire to a position of permanent subjection. To the Webbs one of the gravest social dangers is the diminishing birth rate among the "higher" races. The result is that "into the scarcity thus created, in particular districts, in particular sections of the labor market, or in particular social strata, there rush in the off-spring of the less thrifty, the less intellectual, the less foreseeing races or classes—the unskilled casual laborers of our great cities, the races of Eastern or Southern Europe, the Negroes, the Chinese—possibly resulting, as already in parts of the United States, in such a heterogeneous and mongrel population that democratic self-government or even the effective application of the policy of a national minimum of civilized life will become increasingly unattainable." Yet it may be chiefly if not wholly upon these very races and classes that Socialism and democratic progress must one day depend.

To advance civilization and to keep "the guardianship of the non-adult races" in the right hands, there is no means so valuable as the British Empire—according to these British "Socialists." They say that "in the very nature of things, States do not profit by stealing from other States, whether what they steal is territory, population, or money." But this does not apply, it seems, to the way the British Empire was acquired, nor is it any reason—according to this British logic, why India or Egypt, even after preparatory steps, should be given their independence. We read: "Private enterprise and the desire for riches are no more to be trusted with the weaker races now than before." But the classes that control or will soon control Great Britain, according to the Webbs are,

or will be comparatively free from such selfish motives. These classes are going to legislate for "the non-adult races" "to save them from themselves." Some of these races may some day be freed and can now be prepared for this freedom. "But as regards many parts of the British Empire, it would be idle to pretend that anything like effective self-government, even as regards strictly local affairs, can be introduced for many generations to come—in some cases, conceivably *never*."

The Webbs think that the chief obstacles to their collectivist state are (1) the lack of public spirit, (2) the lack of science in economics, politics and sociology, (3) the lack of an efficient bureaucracy—about the same evils that are fought by the ultra-conservative, silk stocking, civil service reformers of the New York City Club type. The Webbs believe also that there is no possible chance for State Socialism without "a change of heart among the property owners."

The position of the Webbs and *The New Statesman* is apparently at variance with the "Basis" of the Fabian Society, which is signed by all of its members. For the "Basis" declares against "class ownership" as well as "individual

ownership" of land and industrial capital and attacks the "economic dependence" of the workers and the lack of "equal economic opportunity" in present society. The Fabians have often been accused of compromising Socialism. The question now is whether they are not compromising Fabianism.

In conclusion I must point out again the exceptional interest and value of the Webb articles, and of *The New Statesman* in general. Nothing could be more able for example, than the Webb careful analysis of the relation of producers and consumers, and their demonstration that the organization of the latter is as necessary as that of the former. But even here, as on every page of their work, the cloven foot of State Socialism can be seen. For not satisfied with the categories of "producer" and "consumer," they introduce a third capacity of the individual, that of "citizen-inhabitant." Thus the individual in the last-named political capacity holds the balance of power, as it were, between producer and consumer and once more a basis is laid for the despotic rule of society by a political majority composed of small capitalists, intellectuals, and the aristocracy of labor, which, we see, is the ultimate goal of the New Fabianism.

## A Base Drum Socialist

By HOWARD BRUBAKER

Bachmann, I think his name was; at least it was something unmistakably Teutonic. I did not know him very well, and I doubt whether anyone in college did. We all thought him a little queer. For one thing he played the bass drum in the college band and playing a bass drum, though common enough, always

seems a singular enterprise. Then, too, his face and body was thin—in violence to our sense of the Teutonic properties. His clothes flapped loosely about his arms and legs as if reluctant to be mixed up in the affair at all and he wore the only black flowing tie in college except that belonging to the Professor of Art



and Architecture. The real truth can no longer be concealed; Bachmann was a Socialist.

His wavy, straw-colored hair and mild blue eyes seemed so innocuous, his lean, spiritual face so friendly, that it was hard to believe that he held dangerous views, that he was akin to those who wore red shirts and blew up policemen in the slums of Chicago. That he did could only be explained on the ground that he was a foreigner. For all I know now Bachmann may have lived in America for several generations; his English was as good as ours—though that is nothing to grow excited about. But he was alien enough to qualify in our ardent American minds as an off-spring of benighted Europe.

Bachmann was not concerned in any of the activities which occupied so much of our attention. He lived alone in a furnished room somewhere in the uncharted wilderness of frame houses beyond the wagon factory; freshmen were solemnly told that he made bombs there and practised on the bass drum. He couldn't be dragged to a student election and I doubt whether he even suspected that the Alpha Beta Gammas, besides having the best dancing floor in town, had all but established the reign of fraternity and equality on earth. He could never see that it was his duty to shiver encouragingly on the bleachers for days before every big football game. He told me once that he went to the games themselves only on account of the band, that football was a brutal exhibition. And he practically an anarchist!

In fact Bachmann was such an inconspicuous figure in all the things that counted that I doubt whether I should remember him at all except for the classes in economics and sociology. There Bachmann was in his element. Apparently he not only knew all the things in the text books but he knew that they were not true. He said as much at every conceivable opportunity.

Good old Professor Tomlinson would scarcely be launched into his subject when Bachmann's weird, high-keyed voice would ring out: "But, Professor —" and then would follow something that Marx said or some reference to the Communist Manifesto. The professor's kindly old face would take on a hunted look, but he would explain patiently where Marx's mistake lay. Bachmann would strike back at the defenseless old man with the materialistic conception of history and often they would debate until the bell rang.

We got to expecting it, to counting upon it. Many a time when I had been so busy the previous evening advancing the brotherhood of man upon the Alphas' splendid ball-room floor that I felt ill-prepared for chance questions, the obstreperous Socialist saved the day. Once I remember we only got down to 1837 when the term closed. Bachmann couldn't have been more of an obstructionist if he had brought his bass drum to the class.

We didn't understand what it was all about but of course we knew that a man whose hair was as white as Professor Tomlinson's knew more about the matter than a young Dutchman who played the bass drum. Nevertheless there was a doubt planted in our minds alongside of every teaching. I for one came out of the economics department with the comforting belief that if what little I had learned there was wrong it could easily be forgotten. Time has verified that belief.

There is a chapter of the Intercollegiate in that college and a full-fledged course in Socialism. Students may now accept or reject Socialism with their eyes open. Bachmann and his bass drum and his perennial skepticism are gone. I do not know where he is now, but I should like to see him and tell him what I owe to his inquiring mind. I look for him every time I hear a band.

# A Letter From Futuria

By ELLIS O. JONES.

Sanityville, Futuria, Dec. 1, 1913.

Dear Adelphos:

It commences to look as if the army were going to be the most popular organization in the whole land of Futuria. It used to be with us as it is with you. The army developed into a great bone of contention, the opinion being widely held that it was mere useless expenditure, that we were paying out a tremendous lot of money to protect ourselves against dangers that did not exist.

As was to be expected the army partisans bitterly resented attacks of this sort and defended the army with those old but stalwart arguments, "adequate defense," "patriotism" and the like. But these arguments did not avail to stem the tide of opposition which continued to grow until the army began to branch out and become of positive economic service to the people.

This revolution began in a small way. With us as with you now, the cost of living in general was a prime topic. Prices were rising steadily and there seemed to be no way of stopping them. It was in this connection that occasional articles were published in the army journals and elsewhere bragging about how efficiently the army was conducted. These articles set forth that, owing to the direct businesslike methods of the commissary department, prices of food, clothing, etc., in the army stores averaged around fifty per cent. less than in the retail stores outside.

At that time of course it was against the regulations to sell goods to any except those who belonged to the army. Then some innovating soul with a scant reverence for precedent raised this question: If a government can be of such wonderful service to a part of the people, why shouldn't it extend its ministrations to all of the people? At first this question was howled down as So-

cialistic, paternalistic and as injurious to business. Then we happened to get an aggressive Secretary of War who wasn't afraid of experiments. He issued an order that the benefits of the army prices should be extended to the public in the vicinity of all the army stores then existent. Well, one has only to attend a bargain sale or two to know that the public was not slow to take advantage of the great savings, to say nothing of the absolute guaranty of quantity and quality covering all goods at the government stores.

Other communities, hearing of what was going on, entered their demands for the extension of the stores to their localities. The new idea had proved so successful in a small way that these demands were acceded to one by one, until now there is hardly a village that hasn't an army post, the chief aim of which is not to learn how to destroy life and property, but how to conserve life and distribute property. Nothing could have worked out more nicely. Our army consisted of a most excellent body of men in the old days, but now it is attracting the best youth of the country to an even greater extent than before. And of course there are no more complaints about the cost of the army, for it is self-supporting: that is, the cost of its maintenance is figured into the prices of the goods distributed.

Foreign nations, far from considering us an object of attack, are sending representatives among us to study our methods with a view to adopting them at home. I am quite sure that the United States also would find this plan highly profitable and, if you cared to send representatives to us, you may be sure that no important detail will be withheld.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Anthropos.



# REVIEW OF VITAL BOOKS

**THE FACTS OF SOCIALISM.** By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D. N. Y.: John Lane Company. \$75. On sale at I. S. S. Office.

"What is Socialism?" Many times a year, and perhaps many times a month, every avowed Socialist is asked this question by men and women who earnestly desire to understand the meaning of this great international movement which has recently been making such rapid headway in the United States. To answer this question is not an easy task. To quote Miss Hughan:

"There is something of an analogy between the task of defining Socialism and that of defining Christianity. In both we find the bigot and the broad churchman, in both the jangle of differing sects, in both the constant changing in response to environment which marks the living organism. Neither can be expounded in a word, but each is a definite force in the world's history."

Miss Hughan has herself furnished, however, not in a word, but in a handy little red book of some hundred and sixty pages, with an excellent index, an answer which can be placed in the hands of the American inquirer as a sort of primer of Socialism. The purpose of the author, according to her own statement, was to supply the vacancies left by college courses which treat Socialism as a German system of abstract economics which was demolished some years ago by a theorist named Bernstein, and "to present to non-collegians the facts, as far as possible, undimmed by the smoke of controversy." The point of view throughout is strictly American, though a bird's eye glimpse is given of the European origins, history and present status of the movement,—a glimpse without which the American movement could not be properly understood.

Miss Hughan begins, not with difficult abstract theory, but with a sketch of what may be called the objective facts of Socialism, its origin and its present position. The reader is then gently led, by way of discussion of some miscon-

ceptions of Socialism, to its theoretical foundations. And Socialist theory is clearly divided into two parts, on the one hand the essential backbone of the doctrines of the economic interpretation of history, the necessary downfall of capitalism and the class struggle, and on the other hand the non-essential doctrine of surplus value, the gist of which is given in ten pages. In the chapter on the ultimate goal of Socialism, Miss Hughan attempts the difficult task of satisfying the demands of the man who wants to know just what the Socialist state will be like when it is attained. Though such an attempt, as is clearly stated, is not strictly scientific, and though the results may not be entirely satisfactory to all Socialists, it is amply justified by the fact that the average man is not half as eager to know the how or when or why of Socialism as he is to see a picture of its workings. The subject of "immediate demands" is next taken up; and later the reader is introduced to some of the "57 varieties" of Socialists,—constructivists, revolutionists, Marxists, revisionists, Christian Socialists, parlor Socialists, proletarians, intellectuals, industrial unionists and syndicalists. And finally the problems of American Socialism are clearly set forth.

The book is particularly well adapted to study groups which want a good general introduction to the entire subject before taking up detailed readings. But it can be read also on a street car or a subway train. So when next asked, "What is Socialism?" give your busy friend a copy of Miss Jessie Hughan's "Facts of Socialism," and tell him to put it in his pocket. When he has read that he is likely to have more time and you can then recommend other weightier readings. For a beginner, however, it would be difficult to find in any language another so simple, clear and complete a statement of the essential facts of Socialism as is contained in Miss Hughan's book.

Helen L. Sumner, Ph.D.

**SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE.**

By Samuel P. Orth, N. Y.: Holt. \$1.50.  
For sale at I. S. S. Office.

This is an excellent book in every way, and a much needed one. The only valid criticism is that it is misnamed. It should have been entitled "Socialism Reform Within the Socialist Movement." It concerns itself exclusively with the Social Reform wing of the European Parties, and gives almost no space to the Socialism of those Parties. But as a treatment of this right wing, which is now dominant in every important Socialist Party on earth (with the exception of Italy, where there are two Parties) the book is of the highest value.

As the author regards the Socialist movement as nothing more than democracy and social reform, which he favors, he gives it the highest praise. He points out that the Socialists have organized "the largest body of human beings that the world has known," that they have spread democracy, have drilled and educated the people, and have forced the labor question upon the law makers.

On the other hand the author says with perfect truth that "the Socialist program of reconstruction is confused and immature." But he shows that it is becoming more definite as the Socialist Parties become more and more united with the general democratic movement:

"In every country the parliamentary experience has been the same: the liberal and radical element, attracted by the legislative demands of the labor party, coalesced, for specific issues, with the Socialists, and a new era of economic and social legislation was ushered in. . . .

"You need a microscope to tell a Socialist from a Socialist-Radical in France, and a Laborite from a Radical-Liberal in England. . . .

"Their practical demands as a rule are of such a nature that all of society would benefit by their enactment into law. . . .

"Socialism is merging rapidly into the new democracy."

The book sums up very accurately the Socialist situation in Germany, France, Great Britain, and Belgium. Of Germany the author says:

"Social Democracy in Germany is first of all a struggle for democracy. The accent is on the second part of the compound. It is, secondly, a struggle for the self-betterment of the working classes; and it is, thirdly, a protest against certain conditions that the present organization of society imposes upon mankind."

This statement is undeniable and Orth proves it at length. It does not go to the bottom even of the reform wing of the German movement however. His conclusion as to the French movement cuts a little deeper:

"The French are a nation of small farmers and shopkeepers who cling to their property while they argue and vote for their radicalism and Socialism. . . . The Frenchman takes Socialism as seriously as he takes monarchism or republicanism, and much more seriously than he takes religion. There is only one thing he takes more seriously—his property."

The appendix contains an exceedingly valuable collection of Socialist programs.

As a statement of the position of those who control the European Socialist Parties, this book does about as well as could be desired. If it fails to give the economic explanation of the facts with which it deals, that is if it does not go to the bottom of things, it is because this would require twice the space, that is another volume, if not another author.

William English Walling.

**A PREFACE TO POLITICS.** By Walter Lippmann. N. Y.: Mitchell Kennerley. \$1.50. Popular edition, 50c. For sale at I. S. S. Office.

The significance of the appearance of this book can scarcely be overestimated. For Lippmann promises to have a profound effect on the rising generation of the educated class. Here is a young and new writer who has a mastery of the most advanced philosophy and political science, and at the same time is a producer of real literature. "A Preface to Politics"—which, by the way, is excellently named—is as readable, as entertaining, as inspiring as a first class work of fiction. And at the same time it puts forth in broad outline a much needed, thoroughly idealistic, and yet thoroughly



practical political philosophy. We hope and believe that it is the precursor of a new type of literature in this country.

The book partakes something of the character of Wells' "New World's For Old," and "First and Last Things," something of Graham Wallas' "Human Nature and Politics," and something of Shaw's Prefaces. While it may almost compare with these English writings in brilliancy, it is far more conscientious, far more philosophical, and far more representative of the best in modern thought.

The central idea of the book is that our political thinking and activities must have a pragmatic basis, must be built upon psychological science rather than on a materialistic or economic foundation—as has been the intellectual fashion in recent years. It therefore proposes nothing less than a theoretical revolution, a complete reversal of existing modes of political thought. Some one has said that Lippmann's book enthrones human nature, as was done by Rousseau. This is true, but there is a vast advance. The "human nature" of Lippmann is not that of the abstract "man" of whom Rousseau wrote, not of isolated individuals but of the various classes and types of individuals as they exist *in society* and especially in modern society.

Few Socialists can understand or condone Lippmann's rejection of the Class Struggle nor agree with his extremely low estimate of the value of political organization and political institutions generally as compared with political "leadership." (Lippmann's great leader is—Roosevelt!) On the contrary one of our greatest hope lies in modernized political machinery and in modernized organization. And while we may broaden our concept of the Class Struggle indefinitely, we shall surely never come to rely, as Lippmann does, upon the benevolence of the ruling classes, nor on "leaders" selected from their midst. But we can all heartily agree that political organization and modernized machinery and even the Class Struggle are of secondary im-

portance and that the main thing is "to put man at the center of politics."

Lippmann's book is full of brilliant passages and even political wisdom. "Government," he says, is "a process of continual creation, an unceasing invention of forms to meet constantly changing needs." No doubt something of the kind has been said before, but the writers are very few who do not make some exception of this pragmatic principle even after they have accepted it. Nearly all publicists fall back on some "eternal" principle. Lippmann is not only free from all such dogma, but his book will convince any reader that he has won this freedom from his own observation and experience, and has not merely absorbed it from previous writers.

William English Walling.

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**THE REAL DEMOCRACY.** (First Essays of the Rota Club.) By J. E. F. Mann, N. J. Sievers and R. W. T. Cox. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913. 276 pp. \$1.50.

In this volume a group of young writers, who describe themselves as members of the Rota Club, enter the arena with a program whereby real democracy may be secured by the people of England. On the basic belief that the citizen's political power is void unless accompanied by economic resource, the authors argue that real democracy is only possible where all citizens possess private property. The volume opens with a valuable survey of the gradual dispossession of the English masses. In its analysis of the present state, which the authors christen "the proletarian state," it ranges itself squarely on the side of the emancipation of the workers from wage-slavery and the redistribution among the whole people of the wealth-producing power now concentrated in a few hands.

The program for this end is not collectivism or state ownership, the evils of which are elaborately discussed, nor is it syndicalism or government by indus-

trial groups, but a partnership of state and industry to be called the Associative State. Under this theory, they prefigure a state with two wings, one consisting of producing groups whose members are all co-owners, and the other a purely political governing body. The inherent virtue of private property, it is urged, can be retained only so long as it is a normal possession of the average citizen. The Associative State would assure this either in the form of land or of shares in some producing group.

The philosophy of these writers seems to be a reaction from the bureaucracy of Fabianism and of that "gild-Socialism" expounded chiefly by Mr. Orage, editor of *The New Age*. It is a plea for the individual, that by the ownership of property essentially his he may be fitted with a new environment through which to develop his creative aspiration.

The book smacks of Oxford University, is heavy with logic and verbiage. Its theory seems fantastic since it hangs in mid-air and is not depicted as evolving from the great labor movement. The authors seem to lack either constructive imagination or courage and are still tied to old moorings, as in their conceptions of the needs of the individual and of the nature of private property. To students curious to know the last word in the debate between Fabians and non-Fabians, its close reasoning will prove interesting. To Americans who have pushed out into the full stream of Socialism, the young writers in this first book of theirs do not seem to bring an important message.

Caro Lloyd.

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**ECONOMICS AND ETHICS.** By John G. Murdoch, A.M. Troy: Allen Printing Co. \$2.00.

"Economics, the Basis of Living Ethics," is a book that is Marxian, but not propagandist. Without an attempt at making its conclusion a basis for the social revolution, the author examines some of the most respectable doctrines of ethics and economics, and finds them all dependent in the last

analysis upon Marx's theory of economic determinism.

After a delightfully written "foreword," the author gives an exposition of Marx's economic interpretation of history, with its necessary limitations and its application to ethics and theories of property. He then discusses at length the productivity theory of Professor Clark, with the interest theories of the Austrian school, of Professor Fisher of Yale, and of other non-Socialist authorities. The "pure reason" ethics of Kant are thereupon analyzed, and the volume ends with a general treatment of ethics in the light of economic determinism.

The author is unusual in approaching Marxism from the ethical rather than the economic point of view, and in putting the question of right rather than of inevitability. The most interesting portion of the book, however, is where he applies the ethical test to the theories of pure economics, the justifications of interest on the part of Professors Clark and Boehm-Bawerk.

Professor Murdoch meets the issue squarely. Clark's productivity formulas, he maintains, have an important ethical bearing in that they attempt to justify the payment of interest and profits to private persons. In so far as this payment is accounted for by imputing to the capitalist the creative power of the machine in his possession, it does not meet the ethical test of justice, for imputation is not creation and justice requires that "an 'honest' division of economic product must be in proportion to the 'creative' contribution of each of the combined elements." The economics of the productivity theory are assailed by pointing out an apparent confusion of arithmetical and social units in the formulas of Professor Clark, and of physical causation and social division in his method of determining the share of each laborer by the creative contribution of the marginal worker. While



the points appear, for the most part, to be well taken by Professor Murdoch, we should like a more convincing treatment of the subject of value productivity on page 77. A further criticism of the Clarkian laws reveals to the author a confounding of legal necessity with physical in that, while nature has decreed the indissoluble union of the laborer with his creative power, legal custom alone has decreed the indissoluble union of the capitalist with his creative capital. Finally, the static world of Professor Clark, with its perfect competition and determinable specific products, is confessedly a figment of the imagination, denoting tendency, not fact, and as such can offer no ethical justification for the world of actual experience.

The interest theories of the Austrians and Professor Fisher, including the technical element of the productive superiority of present goods and the psychological element of habitual underestimation of the future, are criticised on the same lines as the productivity doctrines. Given our present society with its right of "exclusive possession under social guarantees," the technical superiority of present goods is merely another expression for the power of possession to extract gain, "and the underestimation of the future by the great majority merely a reflex of the hand-to-mouth existence forced upon the classes at the foundation of society.

The luminous point in Professor Murdoch's whole economic discussion is the discovery that these authorities, instead of basing their abstract formulas upon natural laws, have founded them upon the social institutions connected with private property, and therefore invalidated them ethically except in so far as ethics are considered as wholly capitalist and therefore transitory.

The portion of the work dealing more directly with ethical theories is less daring.

On the whole, the book is far more attractive reading than the ordinary economic exposition. In general, to those who relish an earnest and unafraid, though courteous, handling of subjects hitherto held beyond attack, Professor Murdoch's book will not fail to be enjoyable.

Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D.

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**SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.** (How We Shall Bring About the Revolution.) By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. Oxford, England (37 Park End St.): The New International Publishing Company.

There have been many "Utopias" written—Plato's and More's and Bellamy's I presume are known to the reader. The best I have ever read is H. G. Wells' "A Modern Utopia." Another most curious and interesting one is "The Demetrian," by the late Edmond Kelly. The present volume is another, and so far as interest is concerned, I think it holds its own with the very best. It is, as its title makes clear, written from the Syndicalist point of view, and I recommend it as the best book that I know to start one's interest in that large and important question.

In three countries of Europe at the present time—Italy, France and England—the Socialist movement finds itself hard put to it to make headway against the flood of Syndicalist literature. There have been peculiar economic, and more especially political conditions, which have caused this; but such conditions may reproduce themselves in America at any time, and so it is of importance that students of the revolutionary movement should know what Syndicalism is and what it aims to do.

Personally, I have to admit that it has changed my way of thinking on many vital points. In discussing Socialism with people I have always found that the most difficult matter about which to reassure them is concerning the danger of bureaucracy involved in the owner-

ship and administration of industries by the State. Nowadays I no longer try to answer their arguments. I give them a Syndicalist book to read, and let them see how the workingmen in the great industries abroad are preparing to take charge of their own work. Also, I am not sure but that, as the socialization of industry proceeds, our Parliaments and Congresses will not find themselves swamped with responsibilities, and may not be glad of the Syndicalist remedy—an industrial Parliament, in which men are represented, not geographically, but by the trades in which they do their work.

The present book is a description of the way the Syndicalist expects to bring about the revolution in Paris, by means of the general strike without any aid from Parliament or politicians. The volume has a foreword by Tom Mann, a preface by P. Kropotkin and drawings by Will Dyson, whose cartoons are the best work of the sort in England. It has not yet been published in America, but I am hoping that this review may be the means of persuading someone to take it up. It is one of the most vivid and interesting stories I ever read. As a narrative, it convinces you from the first word to the last—and that is certainly more than one can say of Bellamy's "Looking Backward." The style is vigorous and clear.

I feel quite certain in my own mind that I can point out some flaws in the program which the authors lay out. For one thing, as Kropotkin says, they have underestimated the amount of resistance which the ruling classes will make; and for another, they have underestimated the amount of intelligence which the Socialist politicians will have been able to develop at the time of which they write. I predict that in that time the Syndicalists will be very glad for Socialist parliamentarians to save them from capitalist guns; they will be glad for Socialist papers to print the news about their doings—just as glad as they have been in the cases of Lawrence, Little Falls and Paterson. They will also,

I think, have some trouble in deciding just who is to occupy the most comfortable houses in their beautiful communistic commonwealth. But that does not alter the fact that they have written a vital book, which ought to be read and discussed wherever the revolution is preparing itself—and that is all over the world.

Upton Sinclair.

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**"NOT GUILTY." By Robert Blatchford N. Y.: A. Boni, \$.25.**

"Not Guilty" is written with the praiseworthy purpose of offering "A Defence of the Bottom Dog." In the three chapters which deal with environment and the interplay of heredity and environment, the author gives us facts concerning social conditions and their effect upon the individual which, while well-known, are interesting and accurate, but when he wanders into the field of theory and grapples with questions of science and philosophy his defence weakens. He claims to prove that the Christian religion is untrue, that the will is not free, that man is not responsible for his acts and therefore that laws which punish men for their acts are unjust. Since such questions have occupied the minds of scientists and metaphysicians for centuries without resulting in authoritative answers, the reader rather hesitates to take Mr. Blatchford's say—so that they are at last settled. He is the more unwilling as he recognizes that the arguments are based on false premises. For instance, as a cause of man's irresponsibility he claims that "all acts are caused by heredity and environment," disregarding the fact that these are but forces and must have to act upon the germ-plasm in which modern scientists believe are to be found the progress and retrogressive variations of the species and the individual. This is but one illustration to show the fundamental weakness of the theoretical part of the book.



But why this particular line of argument? It ought to be a simple task to defend "The Bottom Dog." It must be done, however, by hard fact, not by the elaboration of such a theory.

Frances E. Jones.

## IN THE COLLEGES

### NEW ENGLAND STATES

The New England colleges extended a cordial and enthusiastic reception to Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, during her trip in that section, from November 9th to 15th, inclusive. Mrs. Stokes spoke on "What the Socialists Want and How They Intend to Get It." She addressed Professor Motley's class in economics at BROWN, lectured before the college bodies at AMHERST and SPRINGFIELD Y. M. C. A. and spoke under the auspices of I. S. S. Chapters at SIMMONS, RADCLIFFE, CLARK, MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL, AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL and WESLEYAN. Several hundred also heard her message in Springfield High School at a meeting arranged by the SPRINGFIELD Alumni Chapter. "Mrs. Stokes' presentation of Socialism," declared one student, "was the clearest and most powerful that I ever heard on the subject. The influence of the meeting will give us a decided impetus."

William English Walling debated against Professor Henry C. Emery of YALE on the subject of "Social Reform vs. Socialism" before over 500 students and members of the faculty at Lambson Lyceum on December 3rd. The debate was "a splendid affair and meant a great deal for the Society." He addressed the HARVARD Socialist Club and an economics society at Harvard on December 1st, and the SPRINGFIELD Alumni on the 3rd. Harry W. Laidler, Organizing Secretary, spoke on "Socialism" at the weekly chapel exercises of the MASS. AGR. COLLEGE, October 29th, and on "The Labor War and Its Remedy," at SPRINGFIELD and WESLEYAN the following days.

One of the most promising Chapters organized recently in I. S. S. circles is that at RADCLIFFE COLLEGE, where 38 students applied for a Charter. Miss Dorothea U. Whitney, Miss Ruth E. Fletcher and Miss Ann Page are among the most active. Besides the meeting of December 1st, addressed by Mr. Walling, the HARVARD Chapter has arranged a lecture by John Spargo for December 9th, and by Graham Wallas (probably), for the first part of January.

The BROWN Chapter has recently reorganized, and, on December 3rd, listened to a discussion on Socialism by Professors Motley and Bristol. Mr. S. Workman is the secretary. The YALE Society for the Study of

Socialism is continuing its splendid work of education. On November 19th, Professor Thomas C. Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, spoke in Osborn Hall on "The Moral Aspects of Socialism." The Emery-Walling debate was held on December 3rd in the largest lecture hall procurable. December 15th, Mrs. Florence Kelley, who is ever assured of a royal welcome at Yale, is scheduled to speak on "Child Labor." An elaborate program of lectures, with prominent speakers, has been arranged for next year. These lectures have become an important factor in the life of the University. Due to the activity of this year's president, Henry T. Rogers, Jr., as well as its secretary, Alexander Trachtenberg, the membership of the Society is increasing steadily and the Chapter is obtaining greater co-operation from the faculty than ever before.

Besides the lectures of Mrs. Stokes and Mr. Laidler at WESLEYAN, a number of other talks by experts on the social aspects of health, crimes, etc., have been promised. Among the most interested of the members of the Social Study Club are Messrs. Brooks, Allison, Amy and Kohler. Study meetings are held every two weeks.

Paul H. Otis of CLARK University writes that "we expect to make this the best year in the history of the Society." The SPRINGFIELD Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE Chapter holds successful weekly meetings every Sunday evening. The Chapters of SIMMONS, the AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL, WILLIAMS and MASS. INST. OF TECHNOLOGY also report progress. News comes from WELLESLEY that a large group of students meet there once a month to discuss Socialism. In October, 50 students listened to Prof. Emily G. Balch of the Department of History on the different phases of the Socialist movement. The second meeting of the year was addressed by student speakers. Professors Ellen Hayes, Vida D. Scudder and others will address the club later in the year. Sally B. Walmsley and Gertrude Wolf are doing invaluable work among the student body. Ten Wellesley students have recently subscribed for the *Intercollegiate Socialist*. TRINITY College heard Mr. Walling on December 4th, Prof. Urban presided.

### MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The BARNARD Chapter reports greater opportunity for an interesting and wide-awake club than ever before. Walter Lippmann addressed a meeting in November and Harry W. Laidler, on December 5th. Study meetings are being held regularly. Anna Kuttner is the active secretary. John Moody, Editor of Moody's Magazine, spoke before the COLUMBIA Socialist Club on December 3rd on "The Railroad Problem." Several good speakers have promised to address the Chap-

ter later in the year. S. Sholes is this year's president.

Jessie Wallace Hughan spoke before the vigorous COOPER UNION Chapter on November 30th, on "What Socialism Is." Reports have also been received from the Chapters at CORNELL, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK DENTAL Colleges, COLGATE, PRINCETON and other institutions. The New York Dentists' Chapter is continuing to publish its valuable magazine. Dr. Gerber is the editor. Mr. Laidler is scheduled to speak at ADELPHI College after the Christmas holidays.

BRYN MAWR, URSINUS, WELLS, N. Y. NORMAL and other colleges are also considering the formation of study chapters in the Middle Atlantic States.

### THE MIDDLE WEST

J. G. Phelps Stokes and John C. Kennedy spoke at a number of the colleges in the Middle West in October and November. Mr. Stokes lectured on "Socialism and the Collegian" before interested groups at the University of ILLINOIS, at HIRAM College and before Alumni Chapters at CLEVELAND and CHICAGO. Mr. Kennedy addressed the students at VALPARAISO, WABASH, DE PAUW, INDIANA, MIAMI, CINCINNATI, WESTERN RESERVE, OHIO STATE and CLEVELAND. At three of the Universities he addressed a number of classes in economics. Both trips were marked successes.

The HIRAM College Chapter, organized this fall, was addressed by Mr. Stokes, and Professor H. T. Lewis. Prof. Lewis, on November 7th, replied to Mr. Stokes, declaring that the evils of the present system were not inherent in it, but could be eliminated by social reform. A group is studying Kautsky's "Class Struggle" and Ely's "Socialism and Social Reform." Ammon Hennacy is the secretary.

Several worth while meetings have been held at the University of ILLINOIS this fall. W. W. Denton is secretary of the Chapter. There are about a dozen instructors in this study Chapter.

John C. Kennedy and a few student speakers have thus far addressed the Chapter at the University of INDIANA. Miss May Frank and H. V. Hornung, among others, are working vigorously for its success. Melvin O. Case, of the University of MICHIGAN Chapter writes that the organization is going steadily forward. Ira C. Tilton of VALPARAISO has taken personal charge of the activity at that university and has hundreds of eager students at his meetings every week. A great work is being accomplished at this center. "Many have recently shown an interest in the I. S. S. work here, and I feel confident that the next report will show great gains," writes J. Bjelke, president of the Marx Chapter at DENISON University. The officers are J. Bjelke, presi-

dent, O. B. Kirk, secretary, and Mr. Taylor, treasurer.

The OHIO NORTHERN Chapter has been handicapped somewhat by the burning down of some of the principal college buildings in which lectures were held. It is now engaged in the careful study of the evolution of modern capitalism. Harry M. Dinger is secretary. The Chapters at MIAMI University, OHIO WESLEYAN, HAMLINE and OHIO STATE report progress. It is hoped that an Ohio conference may be organized in the Spring. Bishop F. S. Spalding of Utah, member of this Society, spoke at OBERLIN in November on "Christianity and Socialism," and later at the SEABURY DIVINITY School of Fairbault, Minn. He reports a great eagerness on the part of students to learn the fundamentals of Socialism. A Chapter is also promised at the University of UTAH.

Miss Marie T. Collins, formerly of Wellesley, is now studying at the University of KANSAS and is interesting some of the students in the work. Interest is being evinced at OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL, SHURTLEFF, ROCKFORD, WESTERN RESERVE, and other institutions in the Middle West.

### PACIFIC COAST

Dean Penfield of FRESNO Junior College of Fresno, Cal., hopes that a group may soon be formed at that institution. Robert Haberman states that an I. S. S. Alumni Chapter at Fresno is in its beginnings and that the field is ripe for the formation of a number of other groups in the vicinity.

### SOUTH

Students at RICHMOND College, SOUTHWESTERN College (Tex.), TEMPLE College (N. C.), and other of the Southern colleges are reporting a desire for greater light on Socialism.

### ALUMNI CHAPTERS

The STATEN ISLAND Alumni Chapter was formed recently, largely through the efforts of Henry Willcox and Miss Marie Baer. John Haynes Holmes, Lincoln Steffens, Dr. Madison C. Peters and a number of others have, thus far, addressed the Chapter. A moving picture show, portraying conditions among the poor, is also being planned.

The study meetings of the NEW YORK Alumni Chapter are proving of great interest. Larger numbers are attending these meetings than ever before. The program is as follows:

LESSON 1: Thursday, November 6. Chairman: Harry W. Laidler. Speaker: F. R. Serris and Bernard Rosenblatt. Subject: "Progressivism and Socialism," followed by a discussion on: "Are the Policies of the Progressive Party Opposed to the Interests of the Working Class?"



LESSON 2: Thursday, November 20. Chairman: Miss Mary R. Sanford. Speakers: Rev. Irwin Tucker and Miss Stokes.

Subject: "Christianity and Socialism," followed by a discussion on: "Will Christianity be a Hindrance or an Aid to the Growth of Socialism?"

LESSON 3: Thursday, December 4. Chairman: Miss M. G. Batchelder. Speaker: Miss Juliet S. Poyntz.

Subject: "Feminism and Socialism," followed by a discussion on: "To What Extent Should the Socialist Movement Advocate Thorough-going Equality of Sex?"

LESSON 4: Thursday, December 18. Chairman: Rev. John Haynes Holmes. Speaker: Prof. James Harvey Robinson.

Subject: "Education and Socialism," followed by a discussion on: "What Methods and Subjects of School and College Study Are Most Adapted to an Understanding of Social Problems?"

LESSON 5: Thursday, January 8. Chairman: Miss Helen Phelps Stokes. Speaker: J. Mowbray-Clarke.

Subject: "Art and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Can Art Promote Socialism and Socialism Promote Art?"

LESSON 6: Thursday, January 22. Chairman: W. Evans Clark. Speaker: Prof. James T. Shotwell (Columbia Univ.).

Subject: "Science and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "What Influences Have Been and Are Experienced by Science and Socialism Upon Each Other?"

LESSON 7: Thursday, February 5. Chairman: Rufus W. Trimble. Speaker: Dr. R. F. Brodsky and A. Sonnichsen.

Subject: "Co-operation and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Is the Co-operative Movement a Tendency Toward Anarchistic Decentralization Rather Than Toward Socialist Centralization in Communal Ownership?"

LESSON 8: Thursday, February 19. Chairman: Nicholas Kelley. Speaker: Louis B. Boudin.

Subject: "Marxism and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Will the Socialist Movement be Compelled to Modify Marxian Theories in Order to Succeed?"

LESSON 9: Thursday, March 5. Chairman: Jessie W. Hughan. Speaker: Dr. I. A. Hourwich.

Subject: "Revisionism and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Should the Revisionist Theory and Practice be Emphasized in the American Movement?"

LESSON 10: Thursday, March 19. Chairman: Walter Lippmann. Speakers: Miss Elizabeth Dutcher and Felix Grendon.

Subject: "Fabianism and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Has the Adoption of Fabian Tactics Led to the Organization of an Effective Socialist Movement Where it Has Been Tried?"

LESSON 11: Thursday, April 9. Chairman: Rene E. Hogue. Speaker: Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Subject: "Political Action and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Can Political Action Be Depended On As a More Effective Weapon in the Achievement of Socialism Than Economic Action?"

LESSON 12: Thursday, April 23. Chairman: Miss Jessie Ashley. Speakers: F. Sumner Boyd and Dr. Louis Levine.

Subject: "Syndicalism and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Should Socialists Work in the Present Labor Struggles With Syndicalists?"

At the Berkeley Theatre the Chapter listened to a thought-provoking address by Mrs. Florence Kelley on "The American Student and the Immediate Demands of Socialism," on November 16th, and is planning a meeting December 21st for Charles Rann Kennedy, author of "The Servant in the House." Mr. Kennedy, assisted by his wife, Edith Wynne Matthison, will read his powerful social drama, "The Terrible Meek," and will also give selections from The Bible. Rose Pastor Stokes will preside. The officers this year are, H. W. Laidler, president; Jessie W. Hughan and Irwin Tucker, vice-presidents; Rene E. Hogue, secretary; Robert Lee Hale, treasurer; Karl Wisehart, delegate to General Society; Mary Allan Stuart, chairman Lecture Committee; Leon Malkiel, chairman Law Committee; Clara G. Stillman, chairman Press Committee.

In October J. G. Phelps Stokes and others addressed a successful Dinner of the CLEVELAND Alumni Chapter. John C. Kennedy spoke before the Chapter on November 23rd. Under the direction of Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis, the Chapter is creating considerable interest in the city. The CHICAGO Chapter held a Dinner for Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes and Mayor Lewis J. Duncan, in October, and is planning further dinners and meetings throughout the year. The SPRINGFIELD Alumni Chapter has been doing splendid work this season. Six hundred were present to hear Mrs. Stokes in November. Mr. Walling and Mr. Laidler also addressed the members and friends of the Chapter this fall. John Spargo's "Elements of Socialism" is being used as a text book for the study meetings. The PHILADELPHIA Chapter has recently elected Miss Dorothy Colby as its secretary.

A large group of collegians met in Novem-

ber with Miss Mary R. Sanford and Miss Helen Phelps Stokes in Rochester, N. Y., to discuss the formation of an I. S. S. Alumni Chapter. An enthusiastic reception was given to Miss Sanford, Miss Stokes, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Glendower Evans and others in Buffalo at an informal luncheon called by Miss Ney for the purpose of considering the formation in that city of a group to study Socialism.

Study organizations are promised in both centers within the near future.

#### IMPORTANT BOOKS

- Facts of Socialism*, by Jessie W. Hughan.  
New York: John Lane Co..... \$75
- Marxism vs. Socialism*, by Vladimir G. Simkhovitch. New York: Holt..... 1.50
- The Larger Aspects of Socialism*, by Wm. English Walling. New York: Macmillan ..... 1.50
- Socialism and Syndicalism*, by Philip Snowden. London: The Nation's Library ..... 1.50
- My Life*, by August Bebel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press..... 2.00
- The Truth About Socialism*, by Allan C. Benson. New York: Huebsch..... .25
- Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*, by Hermann Schlueter. New York: Rand School.. 1.00
- A Preface to Politics*, by Walter Lippmann. New York: Mitchell Kennerley ..... 1.50
- Socialism Summed Up*, by Morris Hillquit. New York: Fly & Co..Paper, 25c. .... 1.00
- The New Unionism*, by Andre Tridon. New York: Huebsch..... 1.00
- European Cities At Work*, by Frederic C. Howe. New York: Scribner's.... 1.75
- The Real Democracy*, by J. E. F. Mann and others. New York: Longmans, Green & Co..... 1.50
- Monarchical Socialism in Germany*, by Elmer Roberts. New York: Scribner's 1.25
- Henry Demarest Lloyd*, by Caro Lloyd. New York: Putnam's 2 Vol..... 5.00
- Economics and Ethics*, by Prof. John G. Murdoch. Troy, N. Y.: Allen Book & Printing Co..... 2.00
- An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*, by P. Ormon Ray. New York: Scribner's.....
- The Theory of Social Revolutions*, by Brooks Adams. New York: Macmillan
- The Psychology of Revolution*, by Gustave Le Bon. New York: Putnam's.. 3.50
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- The Church and the Labor Conflict*, by Parley Womer. New York: Macmillan ..... 1.50
- Organized Democracy*, by Fred A. Cleveland. New York: Longmans. ....
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- The Unrest of Women*, by Edward Sanford Martin. New York: Appleton. . 1.00
- Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, by George J. Kneeland. New York: The Century Co. .... 1.30
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- Free Trade vs. Protection*, by Amasa M. Eaton. New York: McClurg. .... 1.00
- Fifty Years of My Life*, by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Macmillan. ....
- A Personal Narrative of Political Experience*, by Robt. M. La Follette. Madison, Wis.: La Follette Co. ....
- The Jews and Modern Capitalism*, by Werner Sombart. New York: Macmillan ..... 3.50
- A Short Story of English Liberalism*, by W. Lyon Bleas. New York: Putnams ..... 3.50
- My Lady of the Chimney Corner*, by Alex. Irvine. New York: The Century Co. .... 1.20
- These Shifting Scenes*, by Charles Edward Russell. New York: Doran. ....
- William Morris: A Study of Personality*, by Arthur Compton Rickett. New York: E. P. Dutton. .... 2.50
- The Voice of the People*, by David Carb. Boston: The Flour Sea. Co. .... 1.00
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- The Enjoyment of Poetry*, by Max Eastman. New York: Chas. Scribner's..
- Voices of To-morrow*, by Edward Bjorkman. New York: Mitchell Kennerley. 1.50
- The Statesman's Year Book*, edited by J. Scott Kelbie. New York: Macmillan .....
- The Progressive Movements Its Principles and Its Program*, by S. J. Duncan Clark. New York: Small, Maynard & Co.....
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- The Education of To-morrow*, by Arland D. Weeks. New York: Sturgis..... 1.25
- Sylvia*, by Upton Sinclair. Philadelphia: Winston .....
- Wege zur Universitaetsreform*, Part 1, by Herman Kranhold and Herbert Kuehnert, Ph.D., Munich, 1913.....
- Neue Beitrage zur Hochschulreform*, Part 2, by Herman Kranhold and Herbert Kuehnert, Ph.D., Munich, 1913.....

## MAGAZINE ARTICLES

- "Socialism, Promise or Menace?" A debate between Morris Hillquit and Prof. John A. Ryan. *Everybody's*, October and following.
- "Socialism and Spiritual Expansion." By George R. Herron. *Metropolitan*, Apr.-Sept.
- "Socialism in the Colleges." *Century*. Jl.
- "The Catholic Church and Socialism." By G. M. Searle. *Cath. W'ks*. Jl.
- "Trend Toward Socialism." By T. N. Carver. *Ind.* Jl.
- "The Hunt For the Money Trust." By Ida Tarbell. *Am. Mag.* May-Jl.
- "Germany: A Model or a Warning?" By S. P. Orth. *World's Work*. Jl.
- "For Theorists." By Walter Lippmann. *Forum*. April.
- "Standard Oil Treacheries." *Hearst's Mag.* Jl.
- "The I. W. W. and Revolution." By F. C. Pease. *Forum*. Aug.
- "Child Wages in the Cotton Mills." By A. J. McKelway. *Child Lab. Bul.* May.
- "The Minimum Wage." By J. B. Clark. *Atl. Mo.* Sept.
- "Industrial Relation's Commission" (Symposium). *Survey*. Aug. 2.
- "Accident Compensation for Federal Employees." By I. M. Rubinow. *Survey*. Aug. 16.
- "Constructive Trade Unionism" (Symposium). *Am. Fed.* Sept.
- "Women's Votes and Women's Work." By Rheta Childe Dorr. *Metropolitan*. Jl.

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SOCIALIST, published bi-monthly, except-  
ing June, July, August, September, at New  
York, N. Y., required by the Act of August  
24, 1912. Editor, Harry W. Laidler, 105 W.  
40th St., New York City. Managing Editor,  
Harry W. Laidler, 105 W. 40th St., New  
York City. Business Manager, Alice  
Kuebler, 105 W. 40th St., New York City.  
Publisher, Intercollegiate Socialist Society,  
105 W. 40th St., New York City. Owners:  
Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this  
26th day of September 1913.

Chas. Edgar, Notary Public, No. 960, New  
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(My commission expires March 30, 1915.)

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